necessity, by pressing the paste flat on the inside of the cover and putting it over the fire; the top knob of the pottery always remains cool enough to be touched by the time the paste is baked. On festival days my mother bought dozens of little earthern dishes, no bigger than an English coffee saucer. They were called *hai-mi-khwet*, oil-flame dishes, in which we burned lights of cotton wick and kerosene, and lined verandahs and window-sills with bright fairy lights in the night breeze.

We had stoneware in the house too. The *kyaukpyin* is a flat circular piece of stone for grinding the bark of the *thanakha* (*limnoria acidissima*) tree, to use as a cosmetic. It has a canal all around to receive the ground paste. Kyaukpyins can be bought in all varieties and sizes in any bazaar, but my mother always got hers through the headman of Salé village, in Upper Burma, where they use a particularly suitable kind of rock which is durable and yet helps to make the paste smooth. We had some beauties, heavy pieces of about 14 inches across, a square around the circular canal, with carved figures on the corners and the ponderous legs. With the right quality of bark the ground thanakha fell in a smooth golden flow into the canal. Formerly, all women used this cream as the sole substitute for powder, letting it dry on the face and whiten it, but the sophisticated ones now use imported powder as giving a less artificial appearance.

Yet even the most ardent Max Factor fans cannot give up thanakha entirely for its great value lies in its astringent properties; it would have great success with European women who use mud-packs, because it acts like a mild and pleasant mud-pack. It also has cooling and refreshing properties, it is fragrant; older women apply it over the entire body after their baths, like talcum powder. My mother says it smooths the skin and, indeed, victims of smallpox who are left with deeply marked faces, have their skins smeared with thick thanakha many times a day, and after a few months there is a definite improvement. The thanakha bark is the most used, but barks of the red and white sandalwood and other trees (*nethapyu, nethani, kalamè, a-hmway*) are more fragrant and used on the body. Bad bark from the bazaar grinds gritty and dries patchily, but special consignments come from Myingyan and Pakokku, cut into six-inch lengths from branches two inches in diameter. A daily task of the girls in each household is to grind thanakha, and the commonest sight is a girl on a verandah with a kyaukpyin, a mug of

water and a basket of logs; she pours water and grinds unceasingly, bored to tears, and then scoops the paste into separate dishes for use on face, body and legs. 303 512

Our toilet to this day never included imported combs. Even the most frivolous girls in the University prefer Burmese combs. Burmese women, unlike Siamese and modern Chinese and Japanese women, wear their hair long without exception, and European combs could never cope with so much work. At one time, the village girls did favour long, bright bakelite combs to wind the hair around in a knot at the back, but the fashion was ridiculed as "aeroplane head-dress" and soon died. Burmese utility combs for general use and for distribution to servants of the household are made of wood and shaped according to use: for combing the hair are those with slightly curved rims, two inches wide and six inches long; for the little girls to stick in front of their knots and for women to form a frame for their formal hairdressing are small ones, almost semi-circular in the curve of the rim; for the women to wind their hair into a knot on less formal occasions are almost straight-backed combs; for delousing are fine, double-edged combs. My mother chose wooden combs for smoothness and stoutness and put them at the bottom of the sesamum oil jar until the brittle yellow wood turned a deep rich brown. These combs, with teeth that bite and rarely break off, can be bought for three annas. We also had ivory and tortoise-shell combs for superior use. 302 412

Burmese blacksmiths have been busy since olden days, producing weapons for the hill people, agricultural implements, scissors, nut-crackers and fire-irons, and, above all, blades of all kinds (*dahs*). The dah is the universal implement in Burma. It serves as a fighting weapon in the form of a long *dahgi*, a slender pointed steel blade, about 15 inches long, fixed by a tang into a long handle of cane 326 412

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

CHAPTER VIII

DOMESTIC LIFE

THE Burman is the most calm and contented of mortals. He does not want to grow rich. When he does make a large sum of money, he spends it all on some pious work, and rejoices in the thought that this will meet with its reward in his next existence. If he never amasses enough to build any great public work, at any rate he subscribes what he can, and is generous in almsgiving. A bountiful soil will not let its children starve; and so the Burman jogs on through a cheerful existence, troubled by no anxious cares, and free from all the temptations of ambition. His daily round is simple enough. In the morning, after his bath, he loiters about, talking to the neighbours till breakfast time, or perhaps strolls out to the corner of his paddy field, and indulges in a contemplative smoke. After breakfast he probably dozes through the heat of the day, and when the shadows begin to get long, saunters about again. A semblance of regular labour appears when the paddy is being sown or the grain reaped, but even then no one is in the least inclined to disturb himself for the sake of rapid work. It is sufficient that you are always certain in Burma what kind of weather you are going to have. "Another hot day," or "another wet day," is quite as much a matter of course as the rising of the sun itself, and there is therefore no need to hurry operations in case of a change. The evenings are spent ordinarily at a pwè during the fine season, or in amicable converse over a cheroot at a friend's house in the rains. Variety comes occasionally in the shape of a jolting, hilarious journey to a distant pagoda feast, or a trip

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

When the monsoon rains become heavy and steady in late June or early July the fields are plowed with a succession of bullock-drawn implements. The first is a single-toothed harrow, followed by a six-toothed plow. Finally, the soil is gone over with a seven-bladed revolving share. If the ground is not yet sufficiently churned up, a harrow with a large number of teeth may be used. 243

A few days before the planting time the paddy seed is soaked and placed in a wooden cask, the top of which is packed with hay and cow dung. This promotes germination of the seed.

The seed is broadcast sown.* The sower begins at the outermost edge of the field and works his way towards the center, walking in increasingly smaller circles. Beginning at six o'clock in the morning and working until four o'clock in the afternoon, with an interval at mid-morning for his meal and again in the early afternoon for a nap, a sower can cover ten acres in a day. It requires one basket of seed (ca. 48 lbs.) to sow one acre. It is said by villagers that when one is experienced at broadcasting of paddy seeds, regular rows of plants result. 243 512 ●

During the period of about seven days required for the sown seeds to sprout, the cultivators weed the fields, block off water channels, and build up the embankments between fields. About forty days after sowing, when the plants have reached a height of several inches, some necessary thinning is done. Two inches is regarded as the optimum space between plants. Where they are growing closer together some are pulled up and re-planted in thinner areas. 243

Once sowing and thinning has been completed, in mid- to late August, there is little work for the cultivators until harvest time in December, except for frequent visits to the fields to make sure that the water is sufficient and evenly distributed.

At the harvest season, the cultivator and his hired field laborers work in teams of two. One team cuts the paddy about eighteen inches from the top with small hand sickles. These tools are made of good steel blades, obtained in the Rangoon bazaars, which are affixed to handles of buffalo horn. The paddy cutters are followed by another team, which cuts the paddy stalk close to the ground. In the case of hired field laborers doing this work, the prevailing wage is 12 to 16 rupees (ca. $2.50 to $3.50) per acre for paddy cutters, and twenty rupees (ca. $4.00) per acre for stalk cutters. The higher wage for the latter type of work is paid because it is considered harder. Sometimes such field laborers are remunerated in paddy rather than in monetary wages. 243 465 436

The cut paddy is gathered into small piles, about an armful around, which are left in the fields a few days to dry. Then they are bound as sheaves and transported in bullock carts to a cleared area nearer the domestic area, which serves as a threshing floor. 243

Threshing is accomplished by leading bullocks, yoked together and muzzled to prevent their eating the grain, over the paddy sheaves. The bullocks are

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* This method is not common in Burma. One cultivator, when queried concerning the reason for this method, stated: "The land here is not fertile, and though the transplantation method would give a higher yield, the added labor cost would not justify it." [24B]

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It will be noted that most of the living takes place on the downstairs floor where the bedrooms and the porch are located. The alter is also located downstairs

U Myaing explained that the alt r should be upstairs but it was more convenient downstairs. The posts on which the house rests rise a few feet above the ground. In all there are about 1,050 cubic feet enclosed by the house. Of this amount 1450 cubic feet are used for sleeping quarters for the family, 729 cubic feet is devoted to religion in the altar room, and 800 cubic feet is used in the kitchen for preparing food. The rest of the space is for social functions including visitors and relaxation, with some space used for storage.

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In Pathau there were no beds and no chairs except for one deck chair which had been handed down to U Myaing from his father. There were however, five small stools about four inches high and measuring about 12" by 6". These stools did not have four legs but instead were made of one flat board hammered onto two boards laid on their ends. They had one four legged stool measuring 2½ feet by 1½ feet and about 8 inches high. This was utilized as a chess board. (U Myaing and three or four others played chess four or five times a month in the afternoons. Their house was the only one in the village to possess a board and chessmen, U Myaing having received it from a cousin.) There was another stool about two feet high and one and a half feet square to hold the KYAUK KAR food carrier.

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There were also two round Burmese tables. The smaller one was about three feet in diameter and one foot tall. Ma Aye Myaing could not estimate the diameter of the larger one but she remembered that eight men could eat at a time at this table, and that people who gave charities often came to borrow it for that reason.

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There was a three legged stand for holding two water pots. The pots were placed on two horizontal triangles formed one about two feet above the other by the pairs of wood holding together the three upright feet of the stand. This stand was made by U Myaing at home.

They also possessed two cupboards both of which had been handed down to U Myaing by his father. The first one, used for holding clothes, was three TAUNG high, two and one half TAUNG wide and little less than one

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342 MAHA-GIRI, is found in nearly every house (a junior member of a
776 family need revere only the symbol of the senior member of a family).
782 A dried coconut with attachment stems is placed in a basket, the top wrapped with a KAUNG-BONG (Head-wrap) of red and white cloth streamers and the basket hung on a nail to the primary corner post of the house. It must be adjusted correctly, and periodically sprinkled with sandlewood water. An interesting story explains the use of the coconut symbol.

773 MAUNG TIN DE, a blacksmith of great powers had two beautiful sisters who he feared would be coveted by the king of the city in which they lived. He asked them for this reason to remain in seclusion. One day he returned from work to find them gone. He became very angry and pounded his anvil till the city shook and the people suffered from earache. For a while he eluded pursuit but was finally caught and burned to death. Afterwards he became a powerful nat called MIN MAHA-GIRI with powers of protecting households. Since the coconut signifies coolness and thirst-quenching it came to be offered to the nat who had died from fire.

MIN MAHA-GIRI is consulted if sickness or other misfortunes visit the family. At such times the head of the family checks the coconut offering to make sure it is in good condition. If not this is remedied for much misfortune could be the result of MIN MAHA-GIRI's displeasure at being neglected. When a journey is contemplated he is also appealed to for protection. A lesser nat YON GIN O is in charge of the kitchen and more specifically the hearth. Ko Maung Than knew little of this
[563] nat since it is of minor importance or not considered in Mon households.

342 The home is very important as a place for socio-religious functions
[788] many ceremonies involving groups of people are observed or in part
[574] take place in the house (see below in socio-religious section). Social visiting is also common and much enjoyed. Hospitality, related to but differentiated from charity, gains merit for the host. There is a saying that visitors "come only when the home is pleasant."

●512 The home, of course, performs a major "function" as a sleeping
805 place, and there are many beliefs and observances in connection with
513 sleep. The evening hours are divided into LU NYAT THET SHIN (children

quiet), the time when the children become quiet, from 7 to 8. 9 to 10 p.m. is known as THATKYI-KAUNG-CHA (oldage-head-drop) when the elders begin to nod; from 11 to midnight and beyond is LUKLON-PYAN CHAIN (Bachelors'-return-time) when young men complete their carousing and return to sleep. ANO (dawn) comes at the second cocks'crowing (first is at mid-night) about 4 o'clock. The KALA-DET (Indians-marching in) hollow wooden drum is struck in the phongyi-kyaungs at this time to awaken the village. The women who prepare breakfast, and the old folks who rise to worship appear at this time - but others may sleep on for an hour or so.

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It is obligatory to wash the legs and feet before retiring. In warm weather a mat is preferred for coolness - but in colder and damp weather a mattress is considered necessary for protection. Prayers taking from 2 minutes (most) up to considerably longer are generally said before bed-time. These praise Buddha and include such supplications as "may I be lifted up to heaven again." Dreams may be good or bad according to the disposition of the gods. Certain dreams have meanings applicable as omens. It is during sleep that the ghost of a recently departed loved one contacts the sleeper and, sometimes, succeeds in luring him away permanently.

513 [515] 782 828 [775]

Analysis of home standard in Pathwe and in Refugee Camp.

The Pathwe home was in nearly every way superior to refugee camp home. Let us examine the nature of this superiority and attempt to see the adjustment which U Myaing made in the refugee camp. The Pathwe home was an independent unit as compared to the refugee camp apartment-like home. However we may not assume that U Myaing found this a disadvantage, since living in Pantanaw was "close". The quarters in the one case were separated by half a dozen feet and on the other by a bamboo partition. An important difference is that the Pathwe home was owned by U Myaing and he had inalienable rights there, whereas the refugee camp apartment was loaned to him for a short time period.

511 722 342

Only about one fiftieth of the space was available in the refugee camp (15,050 cubic feet in Pathwe, 315 cubic feet in camp.) However,

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The daily work schedule of U Myaing while he was working as a fish processor (2 months in a year) was as follows:- 512● 461 264

He rose at four or five in the morning said his prayers, drank plain tea, had boiled beans, fried fish and rice left over from the previous day's evening meal. After that he went to collect fish, bring it to the bank and start work on it. He rested from 11 o'clock to 2 o'clock. At two he resumed work till about five when he would be finished for the day. Sometimes he would sleep at the work place after returning home for his evening meal.

Work in the Refugee Camp.

Shortly after arriving at the Camp U Myaing worked in Sulian Park near the Kokine market where a factory for spinning and weaving cloth was being set up. The contractor was Chinese, and he engaged between 30 to 35 labourers every day. These labourers were unskilled and they were employed in levelling the ground and laying the foundation of the factory. Most of the labourers were Indians - there being only two Burmans, U Myaing and Ma Aye Myaing got Rs. 2/-. The working hours stretched from eight in the morning to 12 noon, with a break of one hour at 12. At one o'clock they resumed work and continued until five in the evening. In the mornings they had to go to the factory by themselves, and this took them about a half hour walk. Sometimes they were sent home in a truck in the evenings. U Myaing had to enquire each day at various places for a chance to work. He was not always successful. 722 461 464 331

It was not usual for Ma Aye Myaing to come along like this to work as a labourer. This was the first time she did so. Ma Aye Myaing said that in future she would accompany U Myaing whenever there are prospects of such work. They knew that women worked in this way, but had not known that such work was available. [562]

As a matter of fact, I met U Myaing through the mats which were made in his camp. We got dinner place mats through him. These are rectangular 1½ feet by 2 feet mats of finely-woven split cane in an over 2 - under 2 pattern. They cost Rs. 2/8 each. U Myaing arranged for the making of these mats and collected the money for them, but 285 437

285 they were made by friends. Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar appear to
437 specialise in the larger mats such as used for sleeping. Mat making appears to be an occupation which in ordinary times is unimportant but it is relied heavily upon in bad times.

461 The children are put to work around the house and in processing
562 the fish at an early age. Just recently U Myaing's eldest daughter
561 left school to learn a trade. She left one month ago from the fourth
[277] standard, to learn cheroot rolling. In another month's time she will
874 have learnt how. She does not have to pay any fees - neither is she
[294] paid for her help. She lives with her aunt (U Myaing's sister) and has her meals there. Near their house there is also an embroidery shop which is owned by her aunt. At night U Myaing's daughter is taught embroidery and sewing by her aunt. The owner of the cheroot rolling shop is not a relative, but the women who work there are aunts and grand-aunts of the girl. When she has learnt the trade, then she will be paid between two and three rupees a day on piece work basis.

463 At present (May 1951) U Myaing is working as a sweeper in the
363 Rangoon Municipality on a monthly wage of Rs. 80/-. There is an over-
512 seer placed over him every day. U Myaing's main job is to keep one street in town clean. He leaves his house at six and arrives at the overseer's by half past six and there a roll-call is taken of about a hundred of them. At seven he begins on his street and stops at about half-eight to go to answer the roll-call (see below for rest of schedule). He has personal contact only with the overseer, the doctor and the WUNDAUK (official). All three of them go around the town to see if they work hard enough. The WUNDAUK also comes everyday to witness the roll-call. "If we do not do good work we shall be dismissed. Everything is in their hands. But they do so after two or three warnings. We do not possess any rights at all. Sometimes offenders are sent to other streets that require harder labour. "

U Myaing's street is located in Myeni-gon, and he has to clean the street of dirt as well as clean the drains on either side.

His daily schedule at present is as follows: He rises at 4, washes his face and cleans his teeth, says his prayers and then has plain tea which Ma Aye Myaing has prepared for him. At six he leaves

And arrives at the overseer's by half six. There he answers the roll-call, after which he leaves for his work location and starts work at 7. At 8. 30 he has a bath and then goes back to answer the roll-call which is called about a quarter to ten. He then returns home for breakfast and a rest. At 12.30 he leaves the house again in time for the roll-call at one o'clock. He starts work at 1. 30 or 2 o'clock and works till ten minutes past 4, at which time he starts back for the evening roll-call. This is taken at a quarter to 5, and he is through for the day. If U Myaing has not bathed in the morning he does so before he returns. When he returns he eats his dinner alone, the others all having eaten already, and after that he works on mats if there are any orders on hand. If there are none he just sits around and spends the evening in general conversation, sometimes sipping plain tea. After that he says his prayers and retires for the night. His bed time is not fixed. Sometimes he sleeps at 8 or 9, and sometimes works till 11 or 12 in the night if there are mats to weave.

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FOOD

Eating Routine

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Ma Aye Myaing does the cooking with the help of the eldest daughter. U Myaing never cooks. In our third interview U Myaing prompted his wife what to say, concerning the routine of cooking, indicating that he understood the main outlines of the art:

> "In the morning the fire has to be made so as to cook the rice. After the fire is made the rice is washed and cooked. Then it is HNUT (water drained and rice steamed.) The onions to put in the curry are then sliced, the chillies are pounded vinegar is added and then everything is placed on the fire. This is what you are required to say."

Thus prompted, Ma Aye Myaing gets off to a fast start in giving information of her province.

> "I rise early in the morning, draw water, make the fire, set the tea-pot on, wash the rice, cook it, drain the water away, steam it, pound chillies, chop fish, peel potatoes, slice onions and skin prawns. Sesamum oil is first put in and THUT (smell of oil is cured) with onions and chillies in the pan. After this the potatoes are put in - potatoes and prawns. We cook once in the morning at 7 o'clock and once in the evening at 3 o'clock. In the morning there are times when we cook potatoes with prawn, and also times when we cook with vegetables. The evening meal is cooked with fish - it differs. Sometimes also we cook the fish by itself.
>
> "The meals we had to eat in Pantanaw were better of course. Only at times do we find cooking oil and onions etc. for our meals here. Rice has to bought; only at tipes do we have fish to eat. Sometimes we have to eat with vinegar and chillies (for curry)- sometimes vegetables and prawns."

U Myaing gives some information on the source of food in camp.

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> "The government brings rice, oil and salt once every 7 days - four times a month. Sometimes they do not come four times but only about twice a month. In Pathwe where food was concerned, there were fields. We could buy the paddy from the fields very cheaply. We get fish from the IRS also."

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There are no great differences between cooking procedure in Pathwe and in the refugee camp. The only difference is that, prices being lower in Pathwe, there is some difference in the ingredients used and the dishes eaten. For example, fish oil, which can be used in cooking was obtained free of charge. It was so plentiful that the villagers even used it as a lubricant for the rice mill and also as axle grease for their bullock carts.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

39. PAINTING OF SHINLAUNG FETE.

The constituted daily routine of the monastery takes no account of recreation. In practice there is a wide margin of leisure. But the wearer of the yellow robe is not seen at play. Arithmetical puzzles are the nearest approach to a game. On the other hand, the cheerfulness of the race suffers no restraint. There is decorum, without austerity or sanctimony. The severest penance laid upon the novice is temporary relegation to the secular state (*lein-byan*) for such faults as lying, theft, or killing anything. Cruelty to an animal is punished with caning.

The *yahán* exercise no exclusive function beyond that of admitting candidates to the novitiate and the full membership of their Assembly. The affairs of the Buddhist Church are initiated and conducted by the laity. The recluses merely add, by their presence, to the religious distinction of an occasion. At the shrine the recluse is like any other pilgrim; he never is a ministrant or priest. Neither is there any altar. The only material objects to which sanctity pertains are the relics of the Buddha. The members of the Assembly know no distinctions of men, racial or social. As regards the temporal power, of whatever origin, the recluse should be absolutely passive, neither contravening the laws nor invoking them when he suffers wrong. The recluse neither denounces nor harbours the criminal, a neutral attitude of which criminals are not slow to take advantage.

When admitted to full membership of the Assembly instituted by the Buddha (*Thingá*, Pâli *Sangha*), the novice becomes *Yahán* (*Yahándaw*, *Rahán*, *Arahan*), which signifies *perfected*, one advanced a stage

40. GOTIH RECEIVING HIGHER INSTRUCTION

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

No kind of wool is indigenous 286

THE LOOM CUT THE WARP.

or is spun or woven in Burma. Cæsar Frederick in 1569 mentions woollen cloth among the goods brought to Burma, *vid* Arakán. Web vests for boys and men, of European manufacture, are becoming general. The use of shoes of the European shape is bringing in the use of socks and stockings. The addition of a European shirt under the Burman jacket 291 [283 439]

quaint up the incongruous kit affected by the modern office clerks. With the increased use of body-linen have come the Indian washermen. The coloured cloths are washed by the Burmese women. The native dyes wash well, especially the silk dyes. An alkali-earth (*aggyu*) is found in Burma, but soap is of modern introduction, and is now sold in every bazár. Needles used to be brought to Burma from China, as well as scissors, though the latter are also fashioned in Burma; at present both are imported from Europe. Burmans work the needle from them, like other Asiatics. The work is pinned to a cushion at the head of a post planted on the work-box. The use of the thimble was unknown until tailors came over from India, but is now general. The bulk of the tailoring is in the hands of immigrants from China; but their prejudice against the sewing-machine is helping to transfer the business to the Burman women. Nearly every well-to-do family in the town has its sewing-machine. [296 463] 439 413 286 [177] 463 294

At sunrise the women start with their water-pots for the day's supply, and again before they cook the evening meal, which finishes the day's work. On the morning errand they do the most of their washing. In the evening they carry a spare cloth to change for the one they bathe in, which they wash and coil into a pad to put between the head and the water-

191. BURMESE CARVING OF WEAVING-LOOM.

462 [532] 512 515

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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[415]

132. BURMESE SILK CLOTH PATTERNS.

pot. The Burmans bathe in the morning or evening, and not in the heat of the day. Men and women bathe in their clothes and at the same places.

Burmans will travel far to a source of good drinking water. It is stored in porous earthen pots with covers, in which it settles and cools over-night. Rain-water is saved for other uses and stored in large glazed jars (*sin-ô*). A cocoanut ladle is used for dipping the water out, to avoid disturbing the sediment. In the rainy season the river water bears a heavy silt and has to stand for hours. Spring water is scarce owing to the distance of the Burman settlements from the hills. The ordinary sources are rivers, wells, and tanks. In the moist region the subsoil water comes up to, or near the surface during the rains, and in the drought sinks twenty or thirty feet. In the dry zone it is sometimes necessary to dig one hundred feet for water. Wells are generally fenced and protected from return and

133. THE SPRING.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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Having made her evening toilet

148. TEA (LEPPEYVE).

the girl takes some light work, such as cotton to roll for the wheel for the hour of *Inbyó-hlè*, as the dusk of evening is called, literally, the time of the "bachelors' round." The young men are expected to make short calls only, so as not to keep the old people up late. By "old men's sleeping time," as the hour after the short twilight is called, they must have left, so as to relieve the duenna, who, if not in sight, is always in waiting for the girls to come up into the house for the night. Courtship

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has quite a language of its own in which the suitor needs to be proficient. Young people of fashion are referred to as *kâla-thá, kâla-thamî*—lads and girls "of the period," who cultivate smartness in their speech, bearing and dress. The suitor brings presents of flowers and fruit and ornaments. Oranges, expensively stored one by one, long past the season, are for this sole purpose. Carved

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147. BELLE AT HER TOILET.

149. VILLAGE BELLE.